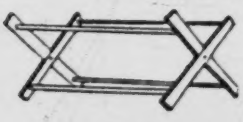
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

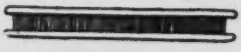
A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."



THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

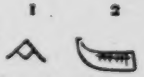
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

[173] Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212 1 2 3 4



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

422
[353]
[523]
[177]
[342]

HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 411 [531] [789] [755]

422 789 [777]

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

[773] [532]

353 342 [513] [264]

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

342 574

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789
224
226
[782]
[825]
[774]

BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other *'pase' kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411
789
774
224
[422]
[211]

The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825
782
224

If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

765 *Rites and Customs After Burial*

While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422]

[1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itohpa*.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners should they become lost.

Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*